# PRIMITIVE MAN

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## PRIMITIVE MAN

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## THE BULBED ENEMA SYRINGE AND ENEMA TUBE IN THE NEW WORLD

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NORDENSKIÖLD first treated enema tubes and bulbed enema syringes at some length, using South American data,1 describing among others the application of narcotic, disinfectant, and intoxicant elysters. Both types of instrument are found in South America.2 There the occurrence of bulbed enema syringes (see map) centers in the Amazonas region: distributed among the Araucanians of Chile,3 the Quichua of Peru, the Jivaro, Caripuna, Omagua, Mauhé, Arawak (Pomeroon and Moruca Rivers), Mainas, Mura, Cacharary, and archaeologically on the Peruvian Coast (Ollachea Valley). The simple clyster tube, as noted by Nordenskiöld, occurs among the San Carlos Apache of the southwestern United States,4 the Indians of Nicaragua, the Bella Coola of British Columbia, Aztecs of Mexico,5 and the Indians of the district of Huxitipa, Northern Mexico.6 Métraux,7 quoting from the eighteenth century account of Mingo, describes the Chiriguano use of the clyster:

"... they had administered to them a lavement or clyster. This instrument (like that which I was able to see at Tariquea) is very curious. It consists of a small calabash or hollow gourd, with a circular opening at the top and a small

hole at the bottom. At the lower part is attached or placed a hollow injection tube or a small reed corresponding to the clyster pipe. In the top (that is to say in the large circular opening, contained in the enlarged part of the calabash) is poured a 'broth' of urine with some salt. After this, he who had the position of attendant or nurse, blows strongly upon the opening or aperture of the calabash and the force of the breath causes the liquid to pass into the intestines of the patient."

Métraux considers this to be an intermediate form between the two major types set up by Nordenskiöld. Because of this Chiriguano example and the Quichua occurrence in eastern Peru, Métraux is inclined to agree with von Rosen's identification of archaeological objects recovered by him in the intervening area of northwestern Argentina as enema tubes.

Nordenskiöld overlooked the occurrence of the bulbed syringe in North America. Hallowell of subsequently called attention to the presence of this type of syringe in North America, listing its occurrence among the Eastern Cree, Norway House and Cross Lake Cree (Manitoba), of and Saulteaux-Ojibwa groups. M. R. Gilmore lists, among the Dakota, Omaha, Ponca, Winnebago and Oto, an infusion of the bark of the Kentucky coffee tree (Gymnocladus dioica) as a rectal injection for constipation. Gilmore says: 'Prior to contact with Europeans the Indians made their own syringes, an animal bladder being used for the bulb and a hollow cylindrical bone, as the leg bone of a prairie chicken, turkey, goose, or other bird, was used for the tube. The bulb was attached to the tube by sinew wrapping.' Speck has recently noted the occurrence of the bulbed enema syringe among the Catawba.

Boas describes the occurrence of what is probably the bulbed syringe among the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island. He says, "Kelp bottles provided with a mouthpiece of elderberry are also used for giving injections of salt water, catfish oil, or dog-fish oil." The same author has also noted, for the Bella Coola of coastal British Columbia, enema tubes of kelp with a bone mouthpiece for giving injections of sharks oil. Further south, on the California coast, Sparkman has described the bulbed enema syringe among the Luiseño 16 as follows: "A syringe

was made of the bladder of a deer and a piece of cane, the bladder being inflated and then pressed with the hands to eject the contents." A careful search of the literature has failed to yield any additional California occurrences—the Luiseño use



Distribution of the giving of enematic injections by means of the simple clyster tube (symbol; solid black square) and bulbed syringe (solid black circle). Hollow squares and circles denote inferred types in the absence of specific descriptions. Taken in part after Nordenskiöld. Starred occurrences are archaeological. 1, Araucanians; 2, Chiriguano; 3, \*Northwestern Argentina; 4, Quichua; 5, \*Chulpas finds; 6, Caripuna; 7, Mura; 8, Mauhé; 9, \*Peruvian Coast; 10, Cacharary; 11, Jivaro; 12, Mainas; 13, Omagua; 14, Chocó; 15, Arawak; 16, Nicaraguan Indians; 17, Maya; 18, Aztec; 19, Indians, Province of Huxitipa, Mexico; 20, San Carlos Apache; 21, Catawba; 22, Eastern Cree; 23, Saulteaux-Ojibwa; 24, Norway House Cree; 25, Cross Lake Cree; 26, Winnebago; 27, Oto; 28, Dakota; 29, Omaha; 30, Ponca; 31, Luiseño; 32, Gosiute; 33, Kwakiutl; 34, Bella Coola; 35, Kamchatka; 36, Kurile Islands.

seems unique. It is possible that this is an element introduced to the Indians through the Spanish missions, though I have no evidence which might decide this point. Chamberlin notes for the Gosiute of western Utah that: "A decoction of the root (of Rumex salicifolius Weinman) is also said to have been used for injection by the rectum in cases of severe constipation." Unfortunately he does not describe the type of instrument used to perform the injection.<sup>17</sup>

Krasheninnikov's early account of Kamchatka contains a note on the bulbed syringe. 18 He says:

"The inhabitants of the Lopatka use clysters, which probably they learned from the Kuriles. They prepare them from a decoction of different herbs, sometimes with fat and sometimes without; this they put into a seal's bladder, fastening to it any pipe which they can procure, and apply it in the common way: . . . They take the roots of the iris sylvestris, and after cleaning them, beat them in warm water, and apply the juice, which they squeeze out, as a clyster. . . ."

The context of Krasheninnikov's account indicates the presence of this type of syringe in the Kurile Islands to the south. Nordenskiöld states <sup>19</sup> that the syringe is absent in Northern Asia. Turi describes the use of the bulbed syringe among the Lapps <sup>20</sup> thus:

"For stoppage you use this remedy. You take the legbone of a goat and scrape it very smooth, and the other end is made of a calf's bladder, and it is dried carefully and nicely; then you must take oatmeal gruel, and this is put in the bladder. And the one end of the bone you put in the bladder, and the other end you put in the rectum. And you squeeze the bladder, which is at one end of the bone, and then (the gruel) goes into the lower intestine, and so it comes out. The women folk can use the same method for a stoppage of the urine opening, but men folk can't, and so they use another method. . . . In the olden days there was no gruel, such as the present-day folk use when one has stoppage; and so, in old times, they put water in the bladder . . . warm water and cooked marrow . . . which is the very finest kind of reindeer fat."

So far as I have been able to determine, the older literature on the Lapps is silent on this subject—there is therefore the possibility that Turi is speaking of a fairly recently introduced European culture element. I have not found any reference to clyster tubes, syringes or the giving of enemata in northern Eurasia—this does not mean that they do not occur, but indicates that if they do it is at least rarely.

Nordenskiöld suggested that the idea of using enematic injections had probably been independently developed in both the Old and New Worlds. In view of the restricted northeast Asiatic distribution of the bulbed syringe, it is possible that its presence here is explainable by transference from America to Asia by way of the Aleutian Island chain.<sup>21</sup> I have been unable to find any reference to the occurrence of the syringe or the giving of enematic injections among the Eskimo. The perfected rubber-bulbed syringe, according to Nordenskiöld, was copied first from the natives of the Amazonas region by the Portuguese who introduced it into Europe and to the Chinese.<sup>22</sup>

Nordenskiöld has suggested that the simple enema tube is related to the sucking tube used by the medicine man who extracts disease from the sick by either sucking or blowing.23 Birket-Smith 24 would link the drinking tube with the tubular tobacco pipe, the latter derived from the former by the medicine man through the extension of the act of sucking and blowing by means of a tube. Nordenskiöld suggests that the sucking tube, tubular tobacco pipe and enema tube are all associated components of the complex of inventions attributable to the medicine man. I am not wholly satisfied with this explanation of the origin of these implements and techniques. It seems a far cry from the sucking tube used by the native doctor in curing to the act of smoking tobacco in a cylindrical pipe. One might as well include in this hypothetical complex of associated inventions such instruments as the simple tubular bone whistle of cane or bone, the pans-pipe, the blowgun, peashooter, flageolet, etc. In other words, merely sucking or blowing on tubular objects does not necessarily imply or demonstrate that they are associated in the same inventional complex. Indeed, it is a long step from the simple bone tube by which enematic injections are performed by mouth pressure, to the more complex type of syringe in which the bulb is filled and the liquid is ejected by squeezing the bulb. The Chiriguano instance seems to be a transitional type, having a non-compressible gourd bulb and the liquid being expressed by mouth-pressure. With this exception, however, the two main types of enema injectors are technologically distinct. If either or both of these types of instruments for giving enematic injections were inventions ascribable in origin to the medicine man, we should expect to find their use ceremonial—or at least "ceremonialized". But enematic injections, (with the possible exception of certain South American instances mentioned before), are almost wholly for the simple, non-ceremonial relief of constipation.

I propose that the function of instruments, particularly those which are so excessively simple, such as cane or bone tubes, is more important than form.25 There is a profound difference in the function of a simple stone, cane or bone tube which may, for example, be filled with tobacco and used as a smoking pipe; used as a cupping-tube or sucking-tube to extract a disease object; employed (as in the Southeast) to spray a decoction over an ailing patient; or to administer a clyster by expressing the liquid from the mouth. There is no real necessity, therefore, for deriving the enema syringe and clyster tube, etc., from the medicine man's smoking tube. In actual practice, medicine men ordinarily treat magical or spiritual ills (as the natives conceive them) and not simple organic disorders such as constipation. Thus we might make a rough generalization that in native societies there are two types of curing: (1), a formal, magical type performed by the shaman or medicine man, and (2), an informal, practical type which aims at the relief of minor organic ailments through the practical application of plant concoctions, etc., by the "herb doctor" who might be anyone familiar with plants, their preparation and application. From the native point of view there is a vast difference conceptually between the appurtenances used in these two major types of curing.

We shall be on surer ground if we delimit the problem according to the criterion of function, i.e., the concept of giving enematic injections, rather than letting ourselves be led astray by vague typological similarities of functionally unlike objects.

Within this defined class of objects, certain typological distinctions are significant. There are limited possibilities in the form of instruments which can be used for giving enematic injections—pressure is produced by either pressing a closed bulb containing the fluid, or expressing the liquid from the mouth through a straight tube. A third possibility, which however seems never to have been used, would be a syringe built on the piston principle like our hypodermic needles.

The distribution map shows several major areal blocks where a single form (either simple straight tube, or bulbed syringe) predominates—concept and applicator might be classed as an "adhesion" within restricted regions. The Amazonas region uses the bulbed type exclusively, while to the north through Middle America as far as the American Southwest the simple clyster pipe is dominant. The eastern United States shows the bulbed syringe without exception. Outside such major areas of concentration, the occurrence is sporadic and unpredictable. The explanation of these peripheral occurrences (in the sense of being marginal to continuous distributions of single types) must be left open, for it is there that our data begin to be incomplete. Blank areas do not signify absences-enema tubes or bulbed syringes are not obtrusive cultural features; it may not occur to the ethnographer to inquire for their presence; and their archaeological preservation and identification present obvious difficulties. I suspect that the actual practice of giving enematic injections is much more widespread than the map indicates-further data are much to be desired.

It is of additional interest to note that there is wide variation in the type of liquid or decoction used for giving clysters—presumably in most cases these are transferences and adaptations from the local pharmacopeia. For example, on the Northwest Coast (Bella Coola, Kwakiutl) clysters are of fish-oil; intoxicant lavements of parica are found on the Upper Amazon; etc. In other words, there does not seem to have been a single, definite and unified "enema complex" which spread as a whole. These local differentiations, together with the wide distribution, point to the giving of enemata as an old cultural element shared by North and South American tribes. However, decoctions of herbs are quite widely used and have the most general distribution; thus clysters of infusions of various plants would seem to be the simplest and most probably the original type used-specializations in the direction of, e.g., fish-oil or narcotic and intoxicant clysters resulting in various places as the trait became a settled and integrated element.

To summarize, the fairly continuous Northeast Asia-North America-South America distribution suggests an historical unity of the New World occurrences of giving enematic injections by means of the clyster pipe and/or bulbed enema syringe. Whether Eurasiatic occurrences will come to light remains to be seen. If they do, it will be the means of solving the further problem as to whether these instruments and techniques in the Old and New Worlds are historically related. 26

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<sup>1</sup> Nordenskiöld, E. Modifications of Indian culture through inventions and loans. Comparative ethnogr. studies. 8: 184-195, 54, map. 1930.

<sup>2</sup> Since others have pictured the types of enema tubes and syringes, I shall merely refer to these illustrations: Nordenskiöld (see note 1), figs. 4, 20, 21, 74; Roth, W., An introductory study of the arts, crafts and customs of the Guiana Indians, BAE-AR 38, Washington, 1915 (fig. 4, par. 341).

<sup>3</sup> Note 1; also Gusinde, M. Plantas medicinales que los indios Araucanos recomiendan. Anthropos 31: 555-571, 1936. (p. 558).

<sup>4</sup> Beals, R. L. (The comparative ethnology of northern Mexico before 1750. Ibero-Americana, No. 2, Berkeley, 1932, p. 151), apparently unaware of the North American occurrences of the enema tube, thought it likely that the Apache and northern Mexican presences connected primarily with South America. As we have seen, however, this cannot be considered a specific South American trait as Nordenskiöld and Beals thought.

<sup>5</sup> de Herrera, Antonio. The general history of the vast continent and islands of America . . . Vol. 4, London, 1726. (Transl. by J. Stevens). p. 127—"When they thought the disease requir'd Evacuation they made use of Clysters, made of Herbs, and Powders boil'd in Water, and holding the same in their Mouths, administer'd it, through the Leg Bone of an Heron, and the Operation answered."

<sup>6</sup> Enematic injections are reported for the Maya of Yucatan, yet I have been unable to determine the method of application. See Roys, R. L. The Ethno-botany of the Maya. Middle American research series, Publication 2. Tulane university, 1931 (pp. 42, 57).

<sup>7</sup> Métraux, A. Études sur la civilization des Indiens Chiriguano. Univ. nacional de Tucuman. Revista del Instituto de etnologia, 1: 295-494, 1930 (pp. 487-488).

\* von Rosen, E. Popular account of archaeological research during the Swedish Chaco-cordillera expedition 1901-1902. Stockholm, 1924. (pp. 150-151).

<sup>9</sup> Hallowell, I. The bulbed enema syringe in North America. Amer. anthrop. 37: 708-710, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> A jackfish bladder serves as a bulb and a hollow bird (?) bone as the tube.

<sup>11</sup> Densmore, F. Uses of plants by the Chipewa Indians. Bureau of Amer. ethnol. Ann. report 44, 1928. (pp. 331-332; a deer bladder with a short section of rush tied at the opening is described. It was used for both nourishment and medicine.)

<sup>12</sup> Gilmore, M. R. Uses of plants by the Indians of the Missouri River region. Bur. of Amer. ethnol. Ann. report 33, 1919. (p. 89).

<sup>13</sup> Speck, F. G. Catawba medicines and curative practices. Publ. of the Philadelphia anthropological society, Vol. 1, Twenty-fifth anniversary studies, Philadelphia, 1937. (p. 192).

<sup>14</sup> Boas, F. Ethnology of the Kwakiutl. Amer. mus. of nat. hist. Memoirs, Vol. 8, Part 2, 1909. (p. 407).

<sup>15</sup> Boas, F. The Bilqula. Brit. assoc. for the advancement of science 1891: 408-449, 1892. (p. 423).

<sup>16</sup> Sparkman, P. S. The culture of the Luiseño Indians. Univ. of Calif. Publ. in Amer. arch. and ethnol. 8: 187-234, 1908. (p. 211).

<sup>17</sup> Chamberlin, R. V. The ethno-botany of the Gosiute Indians, of Utah. Amer. anthrop. assoc. Mem. Vol. 2, Part 5, 1911. (p. 380).

<sup>18</sup> Krasheninnikov, S. P. The history of Kamtschatka, and the Kurilski Islands, with the countries adjacent. (Transl. by James Grieve), Gloucester, 1764. (pp. 219-220). "For a similar but fuller account, see Steller, G. W., Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774."

Note 1, p. 54.
 Turi, J. Turi's Book of Lapland. London, 1931. (p. 156).

<sup>21</sup> For evidence of the transmission of cultural elements by this route, see: Collins, H. B. Archaeology of St. Lawrence Island, Alaska. Smithsonian misc. coll., Vol. 96, No. 1, 1937 (pp. 280, 345, 373-378): de Laguna, F. The archaeology of Cook Inlet, Alaska. Univ. of Pennsylvania press, 1934 (pp. 217-220): Heizer, R. F. Aconite arrow poison in the Old and New World. Journ. of the Wash. acad. of sciences 28: 358-364, 1938.

<sup>24</sup> Birket-Smith, K. (a) Drinking tube and tobacco pipe in North America. Ethnologische Studien 1: 29-39, 1929. (b) The Caribou Eskimos. 2: 143-145, 243, 312-313, 1929.

<sup>25</sup> This principle has an extremely wide application and bears directly on certain aspects of diffusion. An object may apparently diffuse either in or out of context—i.e., it may carry with it, from its original point of diffusion, its function; or, it may accept a new function when it enters the new culture. In view of this, it will be readily seen that there is danger in single element distribution studies which do not take function into consideration.

<sup>26</sup> Bartels, M., Medicin der Naturvölker, Leipzig, 1893, (pp. 120-121), description of clysters among the Liberian Negroes and Persians. I have been unable to secure the accounts he cites. If someone with access to a good medical library could take up the search, there is every indication that further occurrences would be found. For such a study, the excellent bibliography given by A. Hrdlička (Physiological and medical observations. BAE-B 34, pp. 407-425, 1908) would be helpful.

#### A VISIT TO THE NEGRITOS OF CENTRAL PANAY, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

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URING my school days in my home town, Tapaz, in Panay island, the Negritos, or "Ates" as they are called there, used to come down from the mountains to the town from time to time. On revisiting my folks at Tapaz, in May and June, 1934, I made inquiries about the Ates, only to find that since my departure from Tapaz, about thirteen years previously, to enter the Augustinian Novitiate in Manila, the town folks had not again seen them, nor could I obtain any information upon their whereabouts. Waiting until election day, June 5th, I learned from people coming in from the outlying districts that there had been a group of Ates at Malitbog, between Tapaz and Calinog, but that they had moved several days previously, no one knew whither. Finally, following clues obtained, I set out on June 11th for Janiuay, a town of the province of Iloilo, where I stayed three days, and where, thanks to the generous assistance of the parish priest, Father Ciriaco Serrano, I was able to contact a man who knew the location of the Ates.

Accompanied by Mr. Julian Ortigas, secretary to the parish priest, and Honorato Esteva, with Bernardino Protestante as our guide, we started out on June 13th to seek the Negritos in the middle lands of Janiuay. After three hours' travel afoot through the muddy rice-fields and the hills we arrived about 10 a. m. at Barrio Canipaan, where we found the Ate group of which we were in search. As we entered, the children were playing round the huts, the men resting from their work, the women chatting. One group of the women were sitting engaged in delousing operations. We were soon surrounded by the children and several old men, while the women peered at us through the doors and crevices of the huts. The presidente of the band was summoned, and after a little while, having donned his best clothes in honor of his visitors, he appeared, — a man of about fifty years of age, slender in build and dignified in manner. It was largely from the presidente, Ramon Gregorio, and from his wife, Presidenta Martina de Gregorio, that the few data offered in the present article were obtained. In a day's visit not much can be gotten, but I hope to return and gather fuller information in the near future, now that I have been assigned to duty at Iloilo city. Meanwhile even these few data may be of interest in view of the fact that nothing to my knowledge, except a bare line or two here and there, has been published on the culture of the Negritos of Panay in general and of Iloilo province in particular.

When the late Eugenio Lopez became governor of the province of Iloilo (1908), he summoned the Negritos from the mountains of Panay and advised them to leave the mountains, abandon their wandering life, and settle down by groups to work in the lowlands with the Visayans. With this purpose in view he gave them land to cultivate, and appointed a head for each group, who is called the Presidente. But the Ates soon left these lands and began again to wander from place to place. They did not, however, all return to the mountains, but retreated more to the middle lands. Ramon and his wife explained to me their reason for this: "Up in the mountains you have nothing to eat but ubi a plant the roots of which when properly prepared are edible]. Being in the middle lands we can easily go up into the mountains to hunt or go down into the lowlands to find work in the rice or sugarcane fields. As a last resort, when we are hungry we beg food from the Visayans."

On my inquiring why they move around from place to place, they replied: "It is not that we are discontented in one place. But if we stay more than two years (or harvests) in one place, the game diminishes and we have to look for new hunting grounds. Besides if we stay too long in any one place, the people nearby tire of us, and we do not want to be a nuisance to anybody, especially to the Visayans. If game abounds and if the people do not bother us, we may stay longer than two years in a place. The group of Ates in Sibalom [province of Antique, Panay] which is four times the size of ours have not so moved." This last point was later corroborated by a friend of mine, Mr. Jorge Massa of Sibalom, who owns a ranch on which for several years about fifty couples of Negritos have been established and have been earning their living.

The Ates live in small groups, nearly all the members of which are closely related. Relations among themselves,—as with the Visayans, of which more later on,—are peaceful. If any quarrel arises among them the presidente, assisted by the old men, settle it, but quarrels are rare.

The Negritos prefer hunting to working in the rice and sugarcane fields. Usually they hunt in groups. Their favorite quarry is the lizard, though they also hunt deer and wild boars. These latter are caught in traps. The Ates are also fond of fishing. They hunt or fish, in accordance with weather conditions, which conditions they are expert in forecasting.

The weapons of the Negritos are the bow and arrow, the spear, and the bolo. Two kinds of arrows are used, one for birds, the other for lizards. In the bird arrow, the unbarbed head (sinagupit) is attached directly and firmly to the shaft (odiong). In the arrow for lizards, the barbed head is attached to a sort of foreshaft (binurong), and this is in turn attached, but loosely, to the shaft (the distal end of the shaft is socketed into the proximal end of the foreshaft), the binurong being connected with the shaft by a line. When the lizard is struck by this harpoon arrow, the animal tries to escape, but progress is impeded or stopped by the shaft which becomes detached from the binurong and head but to which it remains connected by the line. The lizard harpoon-arrows are also used for protection against thieves, but in this case the arrow is poisoned.

¹ Three arrows and a bow, collected by Father Gloria from the Negritos of Janiuay, have been presented by him to the Catholic University Museum. Their description follows. Arrow 1: shaft 43" long; arrow head 9" long by ¾" at greatest width, butt socketed in shaft, with rattan wrapping along ca 2" of distal end of shaft. Arrow 2: shaft 45" long; arrow head 3¼" long by %" at greatest width, butt socketed and shaft wrapped as in arrow 1, but wrapping of fibre string instead of rattan. Arrow 3: shaft 46" long; foreshaft 3¼" long, of hardwood (apparently palm), proximal end socketed in shaft (with rattan wrapping, as in arrow 1), distal end socketed in wrapped butt of arrow head; head 3¾" long, detachable. In all three arrows: shaft and head of bamboo; head unbarbed, lanceolate; no feathering. Bow: self-bow, unwrapped, 58½" long, 1¼" wide at grip, 15/16" at tips, of palm wood (belly not grooved), smooth but not highly polished, flattish oval in section at grip and flattish lenticular at tips, bow straight (not flexed), with projecting spurs (5½" and 1½" respectively) at

The bolo is used more as an implement than as a weapon, namely, for cutting purposes. The spear is sometimes used in hunting lizards.

Of the aboriginal political culture of the Ates, not much could be learned in the extremely short time my visit lasted. Actually, the presidente functions as head of the given group of Ates and as liaison officer with the government. He carries out in a sort of patriarchal manner the enforcement of special laws for the Ates. When a crime has been committed he must apprehend the criminal and hand him over to the government, which applies the punishment established by law. This means that the Negrito delinquent is no longer "tried" by the old men, nor is he, if found guilty, today pierced with arrows and tied to a tree, as, it seems, was formerly done.

The presidente presides over all important meetings of the group, and nothing is done without his consent. From time to time the presidentes of all the groups assemble to decide upon matters of general administration. The time and place of such general assemblies is decided upon by the senior presidente or by the presidente of the largest group who also presides over the assembly. In this assembly, they discuss the reports of all the presidentes, and take measures according to circumstances and needs. When a group moves from one place to another, the above-mentioned leading presidente must be notified, in order that he may be in a position, if necessary, to pass word of summons to an urgent assembly or to some kind of celebration.

When a presidente dies, a résumé, called "residencia", is made of all his acts by a "committee" of the old men. If his record has been a good one, then his burial is carried out with all solemnity and his good deeds are chanted by the people. Else he is just buried like a commoner. This same committee of old men elect his successor, who holds this office for life by the approval of the governor of the province where the group has resided.

each tip (nearly as in: W. Schmidt, Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker, Stuttgart, 1910, Tafel I, no. 1, p. 86; H. W. Krieger, The collection of primitive weapons and armor of the Phil. Is., in the USNM, Bull. 137, 1926, pl. 2, no. 1) for attachment of twisted-bast bowstring.—Ed.

The relations of the Ates among themselves are, as above noted, peaceful, like the relations between the members of a big family. Similar peaceful relations prevail with the Visayans. The Ates are a timid people, of weaker physique and they avoid whatever might provoke the anger of the Visayans. The Visayans on their part appear friendly and well-disposed toward the Ates. When Governor Lopez called the Ates down from the mountains three decades ago he promised them protection by the government and freedom from molestation, provided they



Fig. 1. Negrito children of Janiuay. The two on the extreme right are children of a Negrito man married to a Visayan woman. The names of the children are: Hanalon, Baluyan, Camunchilan, Capipian, Capahuan, Cainyaman, Calumbuyan, Tayaytay, etc.,—all non-Christian names.

gave no cause for trouble. According to Presidente Gregorio, this promise has been faithfully carried out. Sometimes when the Ates used to come down to the towns, the townspeople would talk to them in a friendly manner. The Ates would also barter with the Visayans of the towns, exchanging medicinal plants gathered in the forests and mountains for food and other things. In general the relations have been so friendly, that occasional intermarriages have occurred. This has led to a certain mixture of race. One woman in the group I met at Janiuay was

a Visayan married to a Negrito; their two children have straight hair like the mother (fig. 1: the two children on the extreme right).

A few scattered data were obtained on some phases of the Negrito life-cycle. The Christian baptismal ceremony is unknown to the Ates of Janiuay, although some of them are baptized or bear Christian names. This may be due to the fact that these individuals or their parents have lived with or been in the service of Visayan families, who have taught them the Christian religion and who, trusting they would stay and settle definitely with the Visayans, have had them baptized.

When a child is born, the parents invite to the birth celebration the members of their own group and also relatives and friends from other groups. The members of the parents' group help the parents to provide the food and materials for the birth feast, by hunting, fishing, pounding rice, and so forth. celebration is usually held under the big trees. At the appointed time and place, as the guests come in they pass by the mother who stands holding the baby in her arms. After the ritual greetings and the congratulations, the guests ask the name of the newly-born. The name, previously agreed upon by the mother and father, is announced by her. It usually has reference to the place of birth. All the names of the children in a group I photographed were such names derived from places, such as, Hanalon ("near a forest"), Camunchilan ("under [or near the camunchil trees"), Casapaan ("near a rill"). This name-announcing ceremony over, the feast is served. After the eating is finished comes dancing, interrupted at intervals by songs in which good wishes for the child are chanted. The celebration ends before sunset, so as to give every one time to return to his own place. Some of the guests however may come from places several days' journey distant.

Some information was obtained on marriage customs and wedding rites. Once the hand of a girl has been asked in marriage by the parents or guardians of the boy, and the request has been agreed to, the girl is not allowed to leave the house until the wedding day, except for grave necessities determined by the old men and relatives of the boy. At the time of my visit there was such a bride-to-be in the group, so I was told

after my departure, but in accordance with tribal laws she did not appear. The wedding usually takes place a month or two after the agreement has been reached by the parents of the boy and girl.

Previous to the wedding day, the bridegroom, so I was told, must provide himself with the following things: *ibed* (iguana), amo (monkey), halo (lizard), miro and singalong (two kinds of wild cats), bao' (turtle), and a bowl of tinola (native stew). When the day of the wedding has arrived, the guests and the group of old men who act as ''judges'' come together at a designated place, usually near a lungsud, that is a small hill made by white ants. This lungsud is quite necessary for the wedding ceremonies.

I was told that at a signal from the oldest man of the group, the one who acts as a sort of master of ceremonies,—there being no kind of priest or religious celebrant,—the groom places the above seven things on his body in the following order: the iguana on his head, the monkey on his back, the lizard on his breast, the miro and singalong on his left and right hips respectively, the turtle on his right hand, and a bowl of tinola on his left. I was unable to get details as to the purpose of this part of the rite, nor could I get confirmation of it. I know of nothing remotely like this in any of the wedding ceremonies of the region.

After the ritual placing of the objects by the bridegroom is over, another signal is given by the master of ceremonies. This time the bride runs ahead of the groom around the lungsud or anthill. The groom must catch up with her before or at the end of the seventh circling. So soon as he does so the master of ceremonies pronounces the two man and wife amidst the cheers of the whole crowd. I asked what would happen if the groom failed to catch the bride before the end of the seventh lap. They replied: "Thus far it has never happened. You have to remember that everything has been prepared beforehand." 2

The rest of the marriage celebration follows more or less the pattern of the birth celebration: there is a banquet and dancing,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The race around the ant-hill or hillock is a common wedding rite among the Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, and is also reported among the Selangor Sakai (W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, Pagan races of the Malay Peninsula, 2 v., London, 1906, 2: 57, 67-68, 71-75, 77-78, 83).—Ed.

the latter being interrupted at intervals by songs in which good wishes for the newly married couple are expressed.

Very little information was obtainable on burial and on religion. My informants stated that no burial ceremonies are observed, except at the death of the presidente and of some of the more important old men. When one of the commoners dies they just bury him or her near a tree or some other thing that may serve to indicate to them in the future that one of their group was buried in that particular place.

The presidente and his wife gave me to understand that they had a belief in the existence of a Supreme Being to whom they addressed prayer before going out to hunt. They invoke protection of the Supreme Being against bad luck or evil spirits, as they say: "By this sign . . . deliver us" (Ang timaan sa keni . . . pamauion mo awe). I could get no answer to my inquiries as to what "the sign" was.

The songs used by the Ates in their festivals deal with the events being celebrated, namely, birth, marriage, and so forth. The writer is not a musician but the words and melody of the following song, taken down by him, seem to give indication that the music of the Ates is simple and that it has been greatly influenced by Visayan or Filipino music.<sup>3</sup>

#### Ates' Song

#### English literal translation

Even we are Ates,
Of the black lineage,
We are old to Bisia,
Even to Katsila.
The Spaniard wears stockings,
The priest uses slippers,
Wears slippers of leather,
And of sawali kerchiefs.
The sawali's for drying
The basket is for transferring....Ay!

Bisia, in the third line is a contraction of the Bisaya, the natives of the Visayan Islands. Katsila is Visayan for Span, iards,—from Castilla.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Dr. George Herzog, of Columbia University, to whom I submitted the recording sent by Father Gloria, writes me that he considers the tune European, Spanish.—Ed.

Sawali is a kind of mat made from bamboo. The natives use it for many purposes, including drying of grains of palay and maize. All the words used in this song are Visayan; even the Spanish terms lo mismo, chinelas, pano, and linage, are of common use among the Visayans themselves.

A final word on the language of the Negritos of Panay. Here I shall give just three sentences, as used by them, with some comments on each.

- 1. Ho, ari ca atubang? ("Where are you going?") In ordinary Visayan this would be expressed as: Sa diin ca macadto? All of the words however used by the Ates in the above sentence are Visayan. In Visayan of Cebu this sentence would be: Asa ca atubang? ("Where do you face?"). This expression is seldom used in Panay.
- 2. Ho, nangay taco ke kalasan kekale aco kenamayan ("I am going to the forest to dig up roots of kenamayan"). Visayans would say: Macadto aco sa talon mangali aco sing banayan. In this Ate sentence the words taco, kali, and aco are Visayan.
- 3. Ho, hisunud ke keo papanangare aco itoc ("I am going with you because I am going to hunt lizard"). Visayan would be: Masunud aco canimo cay mangayam aco sing halo. The words hisunud and aco in the above Ate sentence are Visayan. In all three sentences the "Ho" at the beginning is just an exclamation, like English "hey".

It is quite obvious even from these short examples that there is a great deal of Visayan in the language spoken by the Negritos of Janiuay. But their language differs very much from the Visayan as spoken today by the people with whom the Negritos here come in contact. The Visayans assured me that they can hardly understand the Ates when the latter are talking among themselves. What this possibly non-Visayan element is I could not be certain. It may conceivably be a survival of the original language of the Ates. But this is a point that will require much more investigation than my short one-day visit with them permitted.

#### SIBS AND NAMES AMONG THE WANGURU

REV. THOMAS McVICAR, C.S.Sp. Formerly of Mhonda, Tanganyika Territory, East Africa

THE Wanguru, a Bantu-speaking people of Tanganyika Territory, East Africa,¹ are divided into a number of matrilineal sibs, each sib having its own chief and its own land. Sib exogamy is so strictly in force that a child born of two members of the same sib must be destroyed. The Kinguru word for sib is lukolo; the Swahili word is ukoo. A person can be a member of only one lukolo, that of his mother; but he is a "child" of his father's lukolo, and remains so though he should live to be a hundred. All members of the father's lukolo call that "child" by the term for son or daughter, as the case may be. Consequently one may find that a small boy addresses as his "son" a warrior old enough to be his grandfather.

Female members of a lukolo give birth to members of that lukolo, but male members beget only "children" of that lukolo. Thus Mary, an Mnyagatwa (a member of the Wanyagatwa lukolo), gives birth to an Mnyagatwa, and is referred to as Zaamnygatwa. The word zaa means "give birth to" or "beget". But John, an Mnyagatwa, cannot beget an Mnyagatwa. He begets a "child" of his lukolo, and is referred to as Zaamadisemo, or Zaamwlomwe, or Zaa-something-else, according to the name of the kungugo to which he belongs.

A word of explanation regarding the kungugo. A kungugo is an independent offshoot of a lukolo; a lukolo can exist without any kungugo, but every kungugo must at one time have had a lukolo, from which it sprang. A kungugo may originate, for example, in the following way. The chief or head of the lukolo may, by conquest, add some land to his own territory, and then give this acquired land to a brother or other sib member. The recipient in such a case would then be head of the new division or kungugo, the kungugo assuming a name differing slightly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For general account of location and linguistic affinities of the Wanguru, see introductory remarks in Father McVicar's paper, Primitive Man, Jan. 1934, Vol. 7, pp. 1-2.—Ed.

from, but related to, that of the original lukolo. Thus in the case of the above mentioned lukolo, the Wanyagatwa, the lukolo name refers to a particular kind of small brownish ant which gives a bad sting and travels in large "armies". The makungugo names, Madisemo and Mwlomwe, are related to the lukolo name in that madisemo refers to the very small young ants that live in the hole; lomwe refers to the small ants that still live in the hole but are just at the top thereof and are able to sting.

The kungugo is subdivided into milango (sing. mlango; mlango means "door" or "gate"). The mlango is composed of individual families. The head of the mlango is called mwegazi. He is the "one who holds the razor". When a child becomes mwana, that is, has cut its two lower and two upper teeth, it is the duty of its mother to take the child to the mwegazi of her mlango so he may shave the child's head. This shaving is really the child's initiation into the mlango. The whole head is shaved with the exception of a round tuft of hair on the crown, called a chungi. A girl child would then be adorned with beads at ankles, wrists, hip, and neck. A boy would be given a small bow and arrow and told to make good use of it for the sake of the mlango. A feast consisting of pombe (beer), meat and rice is then made in honor of the new member.

The mwegazi is succeeded by his mpwa, nephew, i.e. his sister's son. The razor is thus passed down the line. The power of the mwegazi is great. He holds the lives of his wapwa (nephews) in his hands. In the old days he could send them as hostages to a victorious enemy. Even at present incorrigibles are sent to him for discipline. When the present writer asked one of the Wanguru, acknowledged by all as a master in native matters, why the nephew succeeded rather than a brother of the mwegazi, the answer was given: "Because his [the nephew's] head was the first male head to be shaved by the chief." And the following story was added.

"Once upon a time a certain chief went into the bush and killed a man of another sib. He was very upset because he knew that hostages must be supplied to the dead man's sib in order to work off the debt contracted by this loss. Returning home, he went to his wife and told her what he had done and asked her for his sons so that he might send them to the sib of

the dead man. His wife asked if he were mad to make such a demand. 'You know', she said, 'that you are asking for the impossible. How can you send your children since they are not of your sib? Seek elsewhere.' He then went to his brother, told his story, and asked him for his children. His brother said, 'Ask my wife'. The chief did so, only to receive a reply similar to that given by his own wife. As a last resort he approached his sister, told his tale of woe, and was answered as follows: 'Of course you can have my children. You are their head. You are the mwegazi. You have the power of life and death over them. Take them and send them where you wish.' The chief had found his friends and heirs.''

The particular mlango, whose mwegazi is chief of the sib, is the "royal" mlango. The chief wears as insignia a lufia, which is, as a rule, a couple of long feathers or a piece of woven material. He carries vitenge, pieces of sticks, as a sign of his authority. Nowadays a chief wears a piece of colored cloth either over his left shoulder or folded around his head like a turban. This is called kilemba. When the chief becomes old and weak and finds that he can no longer carry on, he calls a meeting of the sib. Having explained the reason for resigning, he takes off his cloak or cloth and, putting it on the shoulders of his mpwa, asks them all what they think of his choice. The usual reply is: Mzigo ukalawa mo mtwi ukawie mvedi ega mwili mumwe ("The burden when taken from the head and placed on the shoulders remains on the same body").

In the individual family the *mjomba* (maternal uncle) is head, the father being a secondary head. When a boy or girl is in trouble the *mjomba* is sent for and must be present before the affair is arranged,—regardless of the age, personal qualifications or competence of the *mjomba*. Although the *mjomba* has power of life and death over his *wapwa*, if there is a palaver on behalf of one of them and the *mwegazi* is present, it is the *mwegazi* who takes precedence over the *mjomba* and does the speaking. Moreover when a girl marries, her *mjomba* hands over to the *mwegazi* a certain portion of the bride price.

In some matters however the children follow their own father. For instance, the children take the totem of the father. There

is a taboo against eating the totem.<sup>2</sup> It may be mentioned incidentally that should the taboo be broken, a scalp disease, called masungo, is contracted, not by the individual who eats his father's totem, but by some other member of the same group. The disease may be cured by burning the totem and applying the ashes thereof to the scalp.

An individual, before he acts, takes into consideration the opinion of his elders. The native expression: afadhali nifikiri kwanza may be translated: "It is better I think it over", but should really be understood as meaning something like this: "I cannot do this by myself. Please wait until I ask my superiors".

The proper interpretation of the names of any one individual reveals an astonishing amount of information about him. His names will show, for instance, his father's name and country, his mother's sib, perhaps the name of the woman who assisted his mother in childbirth, or the fact that a medicine man was called in, his position in the family, etc. To give a single example, here are the names of a native whom I know well: Emile Mzeri Kusaka Kisome Msulwa Nyange Sanekondo Kilangilo (and its variants, Mwevuti, Mwempanga), Mzimba and therefore Zaamaria, Zaamlangwa. I shall give a few words of explanation regarding each.

- 1. Emile is his Christian name.
- Mzeri is Emile's father's name and is the word for a white stone resembling chalk. This name comes automatically.
- 3. Kusaka is the name of his paternal grandfather and was conferred on him by his baba mdogo (father's younger brother). This is what might be termed the babu-name. It may be conferred by the baba mkubwa (father's elder brother). Emile's younger brothers might receive the names of their paternal grandfather's brothers. A girl receives a bibi-name, i.e., the name of her paternal grandmother or of one of her paternal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Food taboo connected with sib is generally an animal (see Father Dooley's article on Wanguru, Primitive Man, Jan. 1936, Vol. 9, p. 6). In a previous paper Father McVicar (loc. cit., p. 3) mentions that when the group totem is eaten the *mizimu* are angry and the result is a scalp sickness called *masungo*.—Ed.

grandmother's sisters. The word kusaka refers to the chasing of animals.

- 4. Kisome is the name of his maternal grandfather, and was conferred upon Emile by his mjomba (maternal uncle).
- 5. Msulwa is the name borne formerly by a member of his mother's clan and was bestowed upon Emile by the midwife, the woman who assisted his mother in childbirth. The midwife is usually an old woman who remains with her patient for about three weeks. She keeps house, prepares the food, feeds and bathes the patient, and receives besides her board about four shillings. On the second day she takes the infant outside the house in an ungo (a round, flat, tray-like basket used for sifting the chaff from millet). After taking the infant from the ungo, she throws the latter on the ground, and confers a name on the infant. She may or may not confer her own name. It is not uncommon for her to give such names as the following: Mhina, for a first-born boy; Nemhina,3 for a first-born girl; Mgumbo, for a boy born in time of famine; Chamgunda, for a child born in the field; Chausiku, for a child born in the night, etc. And it can happen that the midwife is instructed to give a certain name,-which is what occurred in Emile's case.
- 6. Nyange is the name of a former important chief of Emile's mother's sib, or perhaps of her mlango, and was conferred by his mother. The word nyange means "frog" but refers to a special kind of frog that shoots water behind it each time it jumps. This kind of name carries with it a certain amount of respect for its owner and implies a special form of salutation. For instance, one could not with propriety walk up to Emile and say "Jambo Nyange", as one would say "Jambo Kisome, or Msulwa, or Kilangilo". If one wishes to address Emile by his name Nyange, the proper formula is: Sevijula ("There are many kinds of frogs in the river"). And he will reply: Mlikadu ("Yes, but a frog is a frog", or "They are all the same").
- 7. Sanekondo is the name of his paternal grandfather's sister's husband. The fact that one has a name of this sort is explained as follows. The day on which a girl is to marry, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Hina means "to learn", nem is prefix for female. The mother has learned through the birth of this child what motherhood is.

sisters of the bridegroom come to the bride's house. The door is left half open, as they are expected. The bride's female relatives are present and the bride herself is hidden away in a corner. The groom's sisters, called wasekirosi, without a word search for the bride, and when they find her they place a necklace of white beads on her neck and at the same time give her the name of their mama shangazi (father's sister). Later on the bride's first-born, if a girl, receives this very name; if a boy, he is given the name of the husband of that woman.

8. Kilangilo and its variants or, rather, co-names Mwevuti, Mwempanga. These names are what we may call the principal names and refer to Emile's father's sib, of which Emile is a "child", not a member. The sib name is applied, as such and without variants, to all members of a sib (see no. 9 infra). But "children" of a sib have names that are commonly variants of the name of the sib of which they are "children" through their father, as explained at the beginning of the present paper. While, however, such "child"-names usually show rather close relation to one another, this is not necessarily or always the case. The story which follows is one given in explanation of these three apparently unrelated sib or kungugo names of Emile.

"Three nameless men met one day and decided to hold a rendezvous at a certain well-known place. When the day came, only two were there. The missing one was named Mwevuti by them, because they had got word that on his way to the rendezvous he was obliged to shade himself under a mvuti tree on account of the heat of the sun. Another meeting was arranged but again one of the nameless ones absented himself because he had to visit a cave. Thus he was named Mwempango (mpango is the word for "cave"). A third meeting was arranged and this time Mwevuti and Mwempango were there. They named the missing man Kilangilo ("he who watches birds") because he followed a flock of birds in the hope of getting meat."

Now Emile when at Mhondo (see map, Primitive Man, 1934, 7:1) is called *Kilangilo*, because the original *Kilangilo* came from Mhonda. At Nguu to the north, he is called *Mwevuti*, while in the region to the west he is known as *Mwempango*. But all three names are his.

9. Mzimba is the name of the sib of which Emile is a member, so it is not properly a name. As explained previously, a man is however often referred to as begetting "children" of his sib. Since Emile's sib is the Mzimba ("lion") sib, he may be called Zaamwanamzimba or Zaamwanadikala or any other of the varied forms pertaining to lion cubs. In this connection, too, it may be added that a man who is the father of a family is often called by the name of his best-known child. Thus at Mhonda Emile is often referred to as Zaamaria, since his daughter Maria is well known in the region.

As though the above were not enough to confound the hardiest student of relationship and naming systems, there are still other classes of names. For example, dancers (mafundi wa ngoma) often take extra names in order the better to make known their prowess. Again, if a child who cries too much is brought to a mganga wa ramli (diviner), this fellow is likely to discover that the child is crying for an mzimu.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, to stop the crying the name of some supposedly forgotten ancestor is appended to the already interminable list. And finally, to add to the complete confusion of those of us who must keep records, nicknames are used wholesale among boys and girls!

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> I.e., manes. For explanation of *mizimu*, see Father McVicar, loc. cit., pp. 2-3.—Ed.

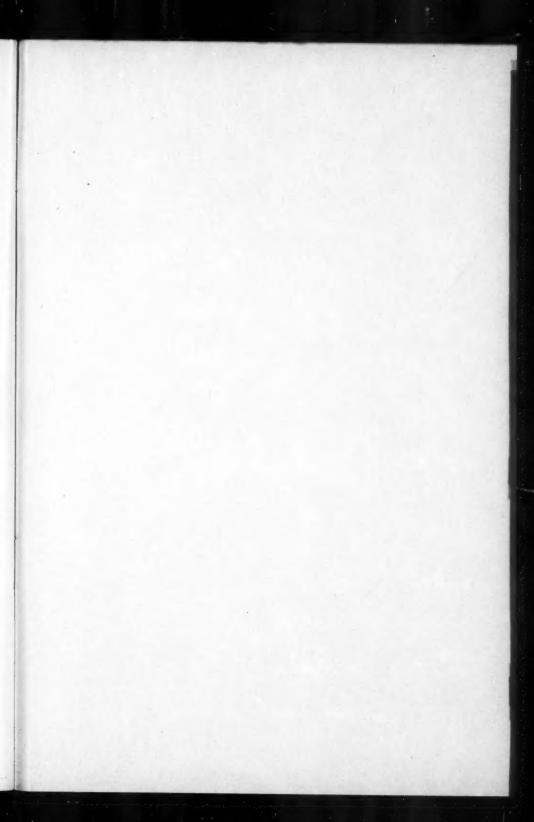
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